

Message Text

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PAGE 01 DAKAR 06359 01 OF 02 231716Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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R 231620Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5439
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY RABAT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 6359

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MOPS, CG, FR, BE, US, SG, MO
SUBJECT: PARIS MEETING ON PAN AFRICAN FORCE

REF: (A) STATE 211443, (B) STATE 203722, (C) DAKAR 6126,
(D) DAKAR 6320, (E) DAKAR 6287

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: SENEGALESE MILITARY ESTIMATE THEIR EXPENDITURES
IN CONNECTION WITH PAN AFRICAN FORCE AT \$6.4 MILLION. BECAUSE OF
SHABA AND UN/LEBANON EXPENSES AND COMMITMENTS, THEY FEEL
UNCOMFORTABLY WEAK AT HOME. GOS HAS COMMITTED TROOPS TO SHABA
"AS LONG AS NEEDED," BUT COMMITMENT WILL PROBABLY PROVE CONDITIONAL
ON MATERIAL HELP FROM OUTSIDE, I.E., FRANCE AND OTHER WESTERN
COUNTRIES. BELIEVE SENEGALESE WOULD WELCOME OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICI-
PATE IN TALKS, BUT LATER, AFTER PREPARATION AND CONSULTATION WITH
OTHER AFRICANS, AND PREFERABLY IN AFRICA. SENEGAL'S OWN
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PAGE 02 DAKAR 06359 01 OF 02 231716Z

INTERNAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION ALMOST CRIES OUT FOR
SOME EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE AT THIS JUNCTURE. SENGHOR IS RUMORED TO
BE ILL; THE ARMY, CONCEDED TO HOLD BALANCE OF POWER IN ANY
TRANSITION, IS JUMPY; AND THE GOVERNMENT, BECAUSE OF LAST YEAR'S
WIDESPREAD CROP FAILURE, IS TEMPORARILY BROKE. END SUMMARY.

2. THERE FOLLOWS COUNTRY TEAM'S ASSESSMENT OF LIKELY SENEGALESE

GOVERNMENT VIEWS ON GENERAL QUESTION OF RE-SUPPLY, FUTURE OF PAN AFRICAN FORCE, AND RELATED CONCERNS.

3. RE-SUPPLY AND COST ESTIMATES ON EXPENDITURES. COST ESTIMATES ON EXPENDITURES IN CONNECTION WITH PAN AFRICAN FORCE WERE PROVIDED TO US INFORMALLY ON AUGUST 10 BY SENEGALESE CHIEF OF STAFF. ESTIMATES, WHICH SENT VIA REF C, ARE REPEATED BELOW:

CATEGORY	ZAIRE
COMMUNICATIONS EQUIP	\$2,365,751
AUTOMOTIVE EQUIPMENT	2,195,906
MUNITIONS	257,363
WEAPONS/REL. EQUIPMENT	640,604
GENERAL SUPPLIES	466,688
ENGR. EQUIPMENT	45,872
MEDICAL SUPPLIES	59,633
RE-SUPPLY/PROVISIONING	321,101
TOTAL	\$6,352,918

WISH TO POINT OUT THAT SENEGAL IS NOW TRYING TO COPE WITH THREE DIFFERENT RE-SUPPLY OPERATIONS. FIRST, THERE IS SHABA, LISTED ABOVE. SECOND, IN LEBANON, GOS MILITARY ESTIMATE THEY HAVE INCURRED UNREIMBURSED EXPENDITURES OF \$8.4 MILLION AS RESULT OF SUPPLYING ONE 600-MAN BATTALION, WITH EQUIPMENT, TO UN FORCES. THIRD, AT HOME IN SENEGAL, IMPACT OF SHABA AND LEBANON HAS BEEN TO STRIP CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 DAKAR 06359 01 OF 02 231716Z

COUNTRY OF STRATEGIC RESERVE, SERIOUSLY WEAKEN ARMED FORCES' ABILITY TO DEFEND NATION, AND IMPAIR TRAINING CAPABILITY FOR UNITS REMAINING IN SENEGAL.

4. FUTURE OF PAN AFRICAN FORCE. PRESIDENT SENGHOR AND PM ABDOU DIOUF HAVE GONE ON PUBLIC RECORD AS SAYING SENEGALESE FORCES WILL REMAIN IN SHABA AS LONG AS NECESSARY. KEY FACTOR WILL BE MOBUTU'S OWN ESTIMATE OF HOW MUCH LONGER SENEGALESE AND OTHER FORCES ARE NEEDED IN ZAIRE. SENEGALESE MILITARY WERE ORIGINALLY COOL TO INVOLVEMENT IN ZAIRE, PROBABLY BECAUSE OF ALREADY EXTENSIVE COMMITMENT IN LEBANON. HOWEVER, WHEN GOS MADE POLITICAL DECISION TO PARTICIPATE IN PAN AFRICAN FORCE IN ZAIRE, SENEGALESE ARMY BACKED THE OPERATION ENERGETICALLY AND SUCCESSFULLY INSISTED ON FIELDING A TACTICALLY INDEPENDENT BATTALION OF 600 MEN RATHER THAN THE INFERIOR 200-MAN FORCE ORIGINALLY ADVOCATED BY THE FRENCH. BECAUSE OF THE DOUBLE DRAIN OF ZAIRE AND LEBANON, COUPLED WITH A CRITICAL SHORTAGE OF GOVERNMENT FUNDS DUE TO 1977 CROP FAILURE, A PRIME DETERMINANT OF SENEGAL'S CONTINUED PARTICIPATION IN THE PAN AFRICAN FORCE OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS WILL BE THE EXTENT OF MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM OUTSIDE, I.E. FROM FRANCE AND OTHER WESTERN POWERS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DAKAR 6359

5. RELATED CONCERNS.

A. TIMING AND VENUE OF TALKS INVOLVING AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS PARTICIPATING IN THE PAN AFRICAN FORCE. WE BELIEVE SENEGAL WOULD WARMLY WELCOME OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH TALKS AS FORESHADOWED IN PARA 5, REF B. GOS WOULD WANT MORE TIME, HOWEVER, TO CONSULT WITH OTHER AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS AND TO PREPARE ITS OWN DOSSIERS. UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES BEST SCENARIO MIGHT BE AN EARLY APPROACH TO BRIEF AND INFORM GOS AND OTHER AFRICANS ON PARIS MEETING TO BE FOLLOWED BY A PROPOSED TIMETABLE COMING OUT OF PARIS FOR LATER MEETING(S) WITH AFRICAN PARTICIPATION. AS FOR VENUE, FROM GOS PERSPECTIVE, DISCUSSIONS INVOLVING AFRICAN STATES SHOULD BE ON HOME CONTINENT, WITH PREFERENCE GOING TO FAIRLY NEUTRAL BUT CLEARLY AFRICAN SITE SUCH AS LIBREVILLE. RABAT HAS IMAGE PROBLEMS IN AFRICA; SENEGALESE THEMSELVES WOULD PROBABLY PREFER ELSEWHERE THAN DAKAR BECAUSE OF CONSIDERABLE LOCAL FEELING AGAINST GOS SHABA INVOLVEMENT.

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PAGE 02 DAKAR 06359 02 OF 02 231727Z

B. WE BELIEVE THE MOST SIGNIFICANT RELATED CONCERN IS THE TIMING

AND CONTENT OF WESTERN SUPPORT AS IT RELATES TO THE CURRENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SENEGAL. THERE ARE TWO ASPECTS TO THE POLITICAL SITUATION. FIRST, IF IT CAN BE SHOWN DOMESTICALLY THAT AFTER A REASONABLE INTERVAL SENEGAL HAS BEEN UNABLE TO OBTAIN WESTERN MATERIAL SUPPORT TO OFFSET EFFORTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR AN OPERATION UNDERTAKEN IN A COMMON WESTERN AFRICAN INTEREST, THE GOS CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT WILL BE BLAMED. SECOND, THE GOS WOULD APPEAR TO HAVE SPECIAL REASONS FOR KEEPING THE ARMY HAPPY AT THIS JUNCTURE. REPORTS AND RUMORS HAVE ABOUNDED IN RECENT WEEKS THAT SENGHOR IS SERIOUSLY ILL AND THAT HE IS PREPARING TO TURN THE MANTLE OF STATE OVER TO PM ABDOU DIOUF. IF, AS IS GENERALLY CONCEDED, THE ULTIMATE DECISION-MAKING POWER TO ENSURE A SMOOTH TRANSITION RESTS WITH THE ARMY, THEN THE PRIME MINISTER CANNOT AFFORD A SERIOUSLY DISAFFECTED MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AT THIS TIME.

C. FINAL RELATED CONCERN IS SENEGAL'S SERIOUS ECONOMIC SITUATION IN WAKE OF 1977 DROUGH AND FAILURE OF GROUNDNUT AND GRAIN CROPS. REFTELS D & E PROVIDE DETAILS. HIGHLIGHTS ARE THAT SENEGAL'S TRADE BALANCE IS EXPECTED TO SHOW RECORD DEFICIT OF CFA 80 BILLION (\$370 MILLION) FOR 1978. IN 1977 DEFICIT WAS \$178 MILLION. BOTTOMLINE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT FOR 1978 IS PROJECTED AT \$110 MILLION, UP FROM \$13 MILLION IN 1977. GOS HAS LITERALLY RUN OUT OF CASH FOR CURRENT EXPENDITURES AND MUST LOOK TO FRANCE FOR EMERGENCY LOANS TO MEET SEPT/OCTOBER GOVERNMENT PAYROLLS. POLITICAL OPPOSITON PARTIES ARE FLAYING GOS FOR SHABA FORCE EXPENDITURES WHEN IT KNEW SERIOUSNESS OF SENEGAL'S OWN FINANCES. AGAIN, SENEGAL NEEDS TO BE ABLE TO DEMONSTRATE SOME SORT OF WESTERN SUPPORT TO OFFSET COSTS OF PARTICIPATION IN PAN AFRICAN FORCE.

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